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[redacted]

1. [redacted]

2. [redacted] TOLD [redacted] THAT THE MIR ESTIMATES ABOUT 10 TO 15 PERCENT OF ITS TOTAL HARD-CORE MILITANCY IS LEFT INTACT IN CHILE. THE MIR CALCULATES THAT ABOUT 900 MILITANTS OF ALL LEVELS HAVE BEEN EITHER KILLED, ARRESTED OR HAVE DISAPPEARED. [redacted] COMMENT: SANTIAGO EMBASSY AIRGRAM A-301 OF 20 DECEMBER 1972 ESTIMATED THAT THE MIR HAD ABOUT 600 HARD-CORE MILITANTS, AND UPWARDS OF 20,000 SUPPORTERS IN ITS VARIOUS FRONT GROUPS. BY THE MIR'S OWN ESTIMATE, IT MUST HAVE HAD JUST OVER 1000 MILITANTS AT THE TIME OF THE SEPTEMBER 1973 MILITARY TAKEOVER.)

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3. [redacted] THE MILITANTS KNOW OF ONLY THREE NATIONAL-LEVEL LEADERS WHO ARE STILL WORKING UNDERGROUND IN CHILE. THEY ARE HERNAN A G U I L O MARTINEZ, A MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION AND SECRETARY OF THE SANTIAGO REGIONAL COMMITTEE; JUAN O L I V A R E S, MEMBER OF THE SANTIAGO REGIONAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE; AND B A R R I E N T O S (FNU) (NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED). [redacted] SAID THAT AGUILO AND OLIVARES HAVE RISEN TO LEADERSHIP POSITIONS AS A RESULT OF THE GAPS LEFT BY THE CONTINUING ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES.

4. IN THE VIEW OF MIR MILITANTS, ANDRES P A S C A L ALLENDE HAS BEEN COMPLETELY DISCREDITED BECAUSE HIS DECISION TO SEEK ASYLUM IN THE COSTA RICAN EMBASSY CONTRADICTS HIS OWN STATED PRINCIPLES AND MAKES HIM SUBJECT TO AUTOMATIC EXPULSION FROM THE ORGANIZATION, JUST AS HE EXPELLED HUMBERTO S O T O M A Y O R, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, WHEN THE LATTER SOUGHT ASYLUM IN OCTOBER 1974. IN CONTRAST, MIR MILITANTS ACCEPT THE FACT THAT NELSON G U T I E R R E Z, THIRD IN COMMAND OF THE MIR, TOOK ASYLUM AT THE SAME TIME IN THE PAPAL NUNCIATURE BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN WOUNDED IN A SHOOTOUT

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WITH SECURITY FORCES AND COULD NO LONGER TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF. [redacted] SAID THAT SOTOMAYOR AND HIS FAMILY ARE IN CUBA, WHERE HE IS UNDERGOING A "REHABILITATION" PROCESS IN A CUBAN WORK CAMP.

5. THE MIR BLAMES THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE (PCCH) FOR THE MOST RECENT SUCCESSES OF THE SECURITY FORCES. MIR MILITANTS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE DETENTION OF MANY PCCH MEMBERS IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER LED TO NUMEROUS BETRAYALS OF THE MIR. THE ARREST OF MARTIN H E R N A N D E Z VASQUEZ, PASCAL'S BODYGUARD WHO ALSO HANDLED MUCH OF THE MIR'S FINANCES, WAS ANOTHER KEY FACTOR. [redacted]

6. [redacted] REPORTED THAT AS A RESULT OF THE FOREGOING, MIR MILITANTS ARE FOLLOWING CURRENT ORDERS TO RETREAT AND REORGANIZE, WITH CADRE-LEVEL LEADERS ESCAPING FROM CHILE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. HE ADDED THAT WHAT REMAINS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HOPES TO BEGIN RESTRUCTURING THE ORGANIZATION IN ARGENTINA, WITH THE HELP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATING JUNTA (JCR).

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7. REFERRING AGAIN TO DISENCHANTMENT WITH ITS LEADERSHIP, [redacted] SAID THAT THIS HAS BEEN HEIGHTENED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENT PUBLICATION OF A LETTER EXCHANGE BETWEEN PASCAL AND SOTOMAYOR IN WHICH THE LATTER ACCUSED PASCAL OF MISUSING U.S. ONE MILLION DOLLARS OF PARTY FUNDS. PUBLICATION OF THE LETTER CAME ON THE HEELS OF INFORMATION [redacted] THAT CARMEN C A S T I L L O, FORMER COMMON-LAW WIFE OF DECEASED MIR SECRETARY GENERAL MIGUEL E N R I Q U E Z, AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY REGIS D E B R A Y WERE LIVING A VERY HIGH LIFE IN MARSEILLES, FRANCE, PAID FOR BY MIR FUNDS. THE COMBINATION OF INTERNAL MIR CHARGES AGAINST CASTILLO AND DEBRAY AND THE REVELATIONS IN THE PASCAL/SOTOMAYOR LETTER EXCHANGE REPRESENTS STRONGLY CONVINCING EVIDENCE IN THE VIEW OF MIR MILITANTS. THEY ESTIMATE THAT EVEN IF PORTIONS OF THE LETTERS PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT WERE SPURIOUS, THE ESSENCE OF THE CORRESPONDENCE WAS PROBABLY TRUE.

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8. [redacted]

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CHILE. THEY MAINTAIN THAT DESPITE THE MIR'S BRAVE FRONT AND TALK OF RETREATING TO REORGANIZE AND FORM A UNITED NATIONAL RESISTANCE COMMAND (CNR) IN CHILE, THE FACT IS THAT THE MIR NO LONGER HAS A LEADERSHIP GROUP WITH SUFFICIENT CREDENTIALS TO MAINTAIN AND ATTRACT THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ACTIVITY. IN ADDITION, THE SCANDAL OVER FINANCES MEANS IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS WILL BE FORTHCOMING WITH CONTINUED FUNDING FOR THE ORGANIZATION.

9. [redacted] COMMENT: THE FOREGOING REASONING LEADS NON-VIOLENT LEFTIST POLITICAL LEADERS TO BE CONCERNED THAT THE REMNANTS OF THE MIR WILL GRAVITATE BACK TOWARD THE MORE RADICAL SECTORS OF THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES. WITH THIS THOUGHT IN MIND, THE PCCH RECENTLY CIRCULATED AN INTERNAL COMMUNIQUE CASTIGATING THE MIR LEADERSHIP, ITS PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS, AND WARNING PARTY MEMBERS TO BE VIGILANT TOWARD ANY INFILTRATION OF FORMER MIR MILITANTS INTO THE PARTY.)

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10. [redacted]

11. [redacted] SAID [redacted] THAT THE MIR HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY THE ASYLUM OF PASCAL AND GUTIERREZ, AND THAT THE BASES ARE NOW ISOLATED. [redacted] SAID THAT ALL CONTACT WILL BE BROKEN FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT FIVE TO SIX MONTHS. [redacted] ESTIMATED, HOWEVER, THAT IN FACT IT WILL BE AT LEAST A YEAR OR MORE BEFORE THE MIR IS ABLE TO REORGANIZE TO THE STRENGTH IT HAD TWO OR THREE MONTHS AGO, WHEN IT WAS AT LEAST ENGAGING IN ACTS OF ARMED PROPAGANDA. HE ADDED THAT THE BASES ARE FRIGHTENED, BUT MORE IMPORTANT THEY ARE DISGUSTED OVER THE ATTITUDE OF THEIR LEADERS IN SEEKING ASYLUM. MIR MILITANTS ARE ALSO AWARE THAT THE PS HAS ISSUED ORDERS TO ITS MEMBERS TO BREAK ALL CONTACT WITH THE MIR, UNTIL THE SITUATION CLARIFIES.

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